1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20



881 galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ɛwɛ'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[6] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[7] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[431] A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[533] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he''wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he''wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ɛwɛ'we with him and she consents, they get married.

● 844 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[6] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[7] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

pared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless. . . . In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers.'

According to this informant, a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses, but according to another informant subsequent menses were not observed at all. Still another informant recollected that dances had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-night ceremony was normal. The first informant said that after the dance the girl goes out to swim early in the morning or is washed all over. Lowie also reports a ceremony he himself witnessed and a ceremony reported by Lillian Eichler in *The Customs of Mankind*, both of which, with slight variations, are similar to the one told him by his informant. These, then, with some slight variations, are very similar to the one reported to me by Mrs. Brengle as witnessed by her in 1929–30.

In spite of the fact that Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance as given by the Washo was perhaps related to the Shoshonean to the east, Harold E. Driver[4] shows on maps 11, 12, and 13 no public recognition of menstrual periods by the Shoshonean people to the east. Omer C. Stewart[5] mentions first period observances, but no specific puberty dance for the Paiute. He does, however, mention a special [illegible] at the first and second menses for the Washo, which he uses as a comparative group. He says everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother, who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During the four-day confinement the girl eats nothing. Julian H. Steward[6] reports no specific puberty dance for the Nevada Shoshone.

When we look west to the neighbouring California tribes, we find that while the Maidu and Miwok have no dance in developed form as stated by Kroeber,[2] they do hold a ceremony to mark the puberty of a girl. The ritual among the northern valley Maidu consisted only of five nights of singing; there was no dance. Men and women participated in the singing, which lasted all night. At the conclusion of the singing period a feast was given, and the parents were required to give away anything they were asked for. Among the hill Maidu a dance accompanied the singing. In the mountains both men and women danced, and the ceremony lasted ten days and was repeated in full a month later. Specific details are omitted for lack of space.

Among the Miwok the ceremony is less developed. Kroeber[2] states that there are four men dancers, painted with red streaks down the face, but wearing no feathers or costumes, who give a short performance on and about the drum in the assembly house. It evidently was part of larger ceremonies that had other purposes. Originally, however, it was made for the girl, and probably done over her as she lay for four days in a trench dug in the floor of her home.

Table I shows clearly the close relationships by traits to the puberty ceremonies of other California tribes.

Therefore, from these facts it would seem that the Washo puberty dance is related to that of the California tribes, and in this respect we have a relationship to the west.

Since this is an important ceremony in the tribe and because the Washo have the many

[see category 11b, pp. 138-139 — Analyst]

[P. 306, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-308).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness [535] and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, [177] [302] in deference to white notions of modesty which are strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 178 178 [535] [871] There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

## PUBERTY: BOYS
(2379-2386, 369-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

[P. 381, B]

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the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

## FISHING
(252a-296)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo [787] describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are [535] said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather [782] attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine com- [825] posed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called [439] kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša [262] by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes [773] in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

## MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

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[783]

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P.382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2354-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
[262] was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intesti-
224 nal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-368). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my in-
[886] formants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or in-
[841] ternal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, al-
[562] though at least some Washo women own fishing poles,
[226] and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
[178] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[796] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

## GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it incluedes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

[P. 384, A]

## MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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Although modern informants do not remember taboos dealing with hair combing and scratching during menstruation, they do recall being warned against combing their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband) used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having several different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers, who traveled about the country participating in the hand game, often carried one. Bat power was considered extremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

## INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

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The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women. Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minister, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion rather than the result of any real desire on the part of the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that a people whose main religious emphasis seems to have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pinenut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

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In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

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[439]
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## CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

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A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

[431]

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

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[431]
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The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

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The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

[178]

# SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121

The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127

The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. 1/ The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

## Childbirth

843

513 A pregnant woman (dawákaši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back
845 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

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843 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows
784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women
[224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child
[162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of
[621] her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844

When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/ [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

a cold layer to prevent her being burned. Grass, bark, or cedar boughs were then used to make the bed. The most common bed was a pad of braided sagebrush bark. The used grass, bark, or cedar boughs were buried and the ground was reheated each time the bed was changed. 844 [824]

There was considerable variation in these practices. For example, Clara Frank had 13 children. Her mother was the midwife for the first two. For the third baby Clara hired a midwife, who did not tie the cord properly and the baby died. Clara did not use a midwife for her next 10 children and did everything herself, including the making of her own warm bed of sand for delivery. Clara Frank and Hank Pete claimed that a separate house was never prepared, the delivery taking place within the regular house. [184]

Bertha Holbrook said that the use of this type of warm bed delays menstruation until six or seven months after the delivery, whereas menstruation after a hospital delivery takes place within a month or two. [841]

The woman lay flat on her back during delivery. The midwife tied a buckskin belt around the mother above the child and then worked the belt down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. One woman said that the woman was shaken to aid the delivery. Should the infant be in a difficult position for delivery, the midwife attempted to manipulate it into a better position. [845]

Hank Pete said "Sometimes the little baby is twisted around. They have the mother sit up and they feel for the position of the baby's head and legs. Then they have the mother lay on one side while they press at the baby's legs and push them into position and the mother is rolled to her other side. This is done again until they are satisfied. The first baby a woman has takes longer. Maybe a couple of hours to deliver." 844

Just before the infant was born a prayer for the health, life, and quick delivery of the child was given. The following is an example from Dangberg (1919, 30) with a translation by Roy James and orthography by William H. Jacobsen, Jr. 844 782 539

| | |
|---|---|
| gólaš gepímiʔ milíʰgihi. | "Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon. |
| gólaš gepímiʔ milíʰgihi. | Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon. |
| melčʔmi, milíʰgimelčʔmi. | Hurry out so I can see you. |
| šémuyi haki. | For sure that's the way. |
| gólaš háki milíʰgiʔŋawhi. | Hurry up. That's the way. I'm going to see you." |

845

There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. [777] Another informant said that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

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If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

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Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

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Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

## Girl's Puberty

881

When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisáásum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

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Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

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Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses. [753]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

NWA 881

| | Ya | Kl | Kt | Kn | Yo | To | Pa | Wa | At | Sa | Tg | Wd | Kl | Al |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2361. Scratching stick of wood | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | - |
| 2362. Single | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | - |

NWA 841

MENSTRUATION (menstruvai)

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2364. Seclusion | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2365. 5 days | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2366. Until flow stops | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2367. Special house | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2369. Attendant: grandmother | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2360. Woman forbidden meat 5 days | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2360a. 4 days | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2361. Fish forbidden | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2362. Fat forbidden | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2363. Salt forbidden | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2365. Cooking forbidden | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2366. Intercourse forbidden | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2367. Scratching self forbidden | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| 2368. Woman must: use scratching stick 5 days | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| 2369. Bathe | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2370. Avoid sick | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2371. Avoid dances | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| 2372. Avoid hunters | + | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| 2372a. Avoid gamblers | + | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2373. Husband forbidden to hunt | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| 2374. Fishing forbidden | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| 2375. Gambling forbidden | + | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| 2376. Sweat bath forbidden | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + |
| 2377. Husband must build new fire in home | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2378. Husband must hunt | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

BOY'S PUBERTY
(See also 369-374.)

NWA 881

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2379. Confinement 5 days | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| 2380. Head scratcher used | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| 2381. Lecture by father | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2382. At boy's 1st kill: covered with the viscera | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| 2383. Father talks for hunting luck | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2384. Mother washes boy | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| 2384a. Father washes boy | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| 2385. Boy's kill taboo to him | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + |
| 2386. Boy's kill taboo to parents | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + |

DEATH CUSTOMS

NWA 764

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2389. Corpse removed from house at death | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| 2390. Removed from house next day | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| 2391. Corpse prepared: painted | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2392. Face washed | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2393. Wrapped in blanket | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2393a. Wrapped in own horse's skin | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + |
| 2394. Adorned | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| 2395. Trunks of dead covered | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2396a. Belief: rain soon after a death to cover tracks | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2396. "Undertaker" a relative | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2397. Any man | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2398. Purified by sweating | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + |

NWA [767]

[p.411]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20



contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right. . . . It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.